2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

The moieties have reciprocal

duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers.

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question.

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents.

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section.

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names.

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic.

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud.

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo-

They compare
181 the knowledge they have about their environment with the
82 knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins
563 and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs--under earth without any ceremony.

181 That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is sub-
828 stantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always
622 the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are
554 connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilin-
611 eally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are
613 the men who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and
539 songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of
533 rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.
788
552 Pobojari, the Bororo village where most of my research
101 was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the
[121] missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

*601 593 one parent speaking to the other about their child will say akonaregedu ("your child"), while a woman speaking to another about their common husband will say akoredu (your husband). A mother speaking to her sons about their father will say tameduya (your companion), while a father speaking to his daughter about their mother will say tamedago (your com-
*601 576 panion). Finally, in some cases it is considered more polite to refer to kinsmen descriptively instead of mentioning the class to which they belong. Thus if a man is looking for his sister-in-law and he is a polite person he will ask, "Where is my brother's wife (imana oreduje pa, or kaiba imana oreduje kodure)?"

Choice among Alternative Designations

*601 611 As a general rule it may be said that: 1. When a person is doubly related to Ego, both matrilaterally and patrilaterally, the relationship traced through the mother takes precedence over the one traced through the father. In case FSs is also MBc then itonaregedu (MBc) takes precedence over
*601 593 imarugo (FSd) and iyogwa (FSs). 2. The term traced through marriage of a person or one of his kinsmen takes precedence over the one traced through parents: in case that MBs is also SH, inodowu (SH) takes precedence over itonaregedu (MBs).

*601 607 In the case of sister exchange and marriage, where two men are at the same time "wife's brother" and "sister's husband" to each other they will call each other either inodowu or itonaregedu. I did not have the opportunity to personally observe this kind of relation.